1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

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work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker. 765 531

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love), which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, but mats and tapa may be. [462] [476] [261]

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule. 765 531 565

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott: 764 565

Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave. [767] [533]

A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave. 764 [767]

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only [784]

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which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anecdote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times.

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas.

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

> There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau.

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow on the top of the walled mound Siamafuauta, or rests there, he or she will become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu.

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab.

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result.

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives.

> The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray.

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person as if he were the god. All this is done generally without any apparent inward emotion or outward agitation; but on some occasions his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were, inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling; he is seized with an universal trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as four hungry men, under other circumstances, could devour. The fit being now gone off, he remains for some time calm, and then takes up a club that is placed by him for the purpose, turns it over and regards it attentively; he then looks up earnestly, now to the right, now to the left, and now again at the club; afterwards he looks up again, and about him in like manner, and then again fixes his eyes upon his club, and so on, for several times: at length he suddenly raises the club, and, after a moment's pause, strikes the ground, or the adjacent part of the house, with considerable force: immediately the god leaves him, and he rises up and retires to the back of the ring among the people. If the company now wish for any more cava, Fi-

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669 266 727 was raising to his mouth, when he saw, by the smile on the countenance of the man, that it was human liver; overcome by disgust, he threw it in the man's face, who only laughed, and asked him if it were not better to eat good meat than die of hunger.

175 266 26 [177] [731] When Captain Cook visited these islands, cannibalism was scarcely thought of amongst them: but the Fiji people soon taught them this, as well as the art of war; and a famine, which happened some time afterwards, rendered the expedient for a time almost necessary. On this occasion they way-laid and murdered one another to supply themselves with food; and they still tell an anecdote of four brothers, who, in this time of scarcity, invited their aunt to come and partake of a large yam, which they said they had secretly procured: the poor woman, glad of the idea of getting something to eat, and pleased with the kindness of her nephews, went to their house, where they soon dispatched her, and she herself formed the materials of a repast. [525] Since that period, there was a great scarcity at one of the fortresses on the island of Tonga, called Nookoo Nookoo: two daughters of a chief of this place agreed to play at the game of lafo* against two

* This game will be described in the second volume of the work.

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young chiefs belonging to the same place, upon the following conditions: if the girls won the game, they were to divide a yam, which they had in their possession, and give half to the young chiefs; but if, on the contrary, these won the game, they were still to have half the yam, but were to go out and kill a man, and give half his body to the girls: the result was, that the latter won the game, and giving half their yam to the two chiefs, waited for the performance of their agreement. The two young men set out, under cover of the darkness of the night, and concealed themselves near an enemy's fortress. Early in the morning, a man came out of the fencing to fetch some salt water from the shore in cocoa-nut shells, which he carried with him for the purpose. When he approached the place where the two lay concealed, they started out upon him, killed him with their clubs, and, at the risk of their lives, brought his body to Nookoo Nookoo, where they divided it in half, and faithfully performed their promise with the young women.

It was more than a fortnight before the canoes returned from the Hapai islands with a supply of provisions, owing to the bad state of the weather. Shortly after, the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo sent to request leave to bury the dead bodies of their relations who had fallen

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000 It may here be remarked, that cannibalism is more or less practised on all the Fiji islands, and has its origin, no doubt, in the constant wars in which the people are engaged: not that war among savage nations universally gives occasion to so horrid a custom, (for indeed we have many instances to the contrary;) but in those uncultivated nations, where a spirit of national hatred and thirst of revenge, on some extraordinary occasions, run very high, it appears to be an instinct of uncultivated nature, to crown the catastrophe by a feast at which civilized humanity revolts*, particularly where a scarcity of provisions exists at the same time. At the Fiji islands war and devastation are much more frequent than at the Tonga islands, consequently scarcity is also much more frequent, and cannibalism accordingly much more practised. The island of Navihi Levoo is more troubled by intestine war than the other Fiji

[266] [171] [669] [261]

* Mr. Mariner had from good authority a circumstance that may be mentioned here as illustrative of the point in question. A certain man at Tonga had a violent hatred to another, whom he sought an opportunity of killing in battle; at length he succeeded; and, cutting open the body, dissected off the liver, and took it home to his house. He tied the liver up in a piece of *gnatoo*, and whenever he wanted to drink water or cocoa-nut milk, he would dip it in, and then squeezing out some of the juice into his beverage, drink it off to satisfy his revenge: this fact was universally known and spoken of, but with much disgust. The cause of his enmity was the ill usage which his wife had received on being taken prisoner by the other. Mr. Mariner knew the man.

266 578 [829]

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islands, and the people are greater cannibals. At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so called) is constantly in a state of war, and scarcity consequently is much more common there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at. At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji islands, but then it has not been the scene of warfare for more than about twenty years, whereas the latter nation has been familiar, more or less, with this scourge of the human race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may mention, that at Tonga, the atives report that some time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an European ship touched there, the boat of which, on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with some of the natives, in consequence of which, three of her crew were killed and dragged up the country. These the natives embowelled and dressed the same as pork, and several ate heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they were all taken very ill, being attacked with nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and three of them actually died. Some of the natives attributed this circumstance to an unwholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

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had so reasonably said upon the subject; his pride, however (as it was believed) was much hurt at feeling the necessity of coinciding in the wishes of so young and inexperienced a chief. Whilst Toobo Toa was speaking, the tears ran down his cheeks, influenced probably by the feelings of his heart, for he had a great respect for the late How, a real friendship for him, and felt a sincere regret for his loss. The same evening he took his leave of Finow, by performing the ceremony of *moe-moe**, and repaired

* A kind of salute paid to the greatest chief present, and consists in bowing the head, (whilst sitting cross-legged before him) so that the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, (who sits in like manner) and then touching the sole of the same foot, (which may be either the right or the left) first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. The ceremony is also performed by persons who may have accidentally touched any part of a superior chief's person, or any thing whatever belonging to him; and unless this ceremony is performed after such contact, they cannot eat without danger (as they suppose) of swelling up and dying. They are very subject to indurations of the liver, and certain forms of scrofula hereafter to be spoken of, and which, as they conceive, frequently happens from a neglect of this ceremony, after touching any thing belonging to a superior chief. They most frequently, however, perform it, without knowing themselves to have occasion for it, merely as a matter of caution. And if a man has eaten any thing without performing this ceremony when he had occasion for it, the chief applies the sole of his foot also to the man's belly, as a greater security against such swellings. Moe-moe means literally to touch or press. (See note, p. 141.)

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(chiefs, matabooles, &c.) are at the expense of it; yet as there is much more provided than what is eaten, it helps to increase the scarcity if the season should not be abundant: but it is so much the custom at Tonga to make liberal and profuse presents, that the people generally either feast or starve. Sometimes it happens that several great feasts are given nearly about the same time; as for instance, the occasion of the Inachi; the arrival of some chief from a distant island, after a long absence; the marriage or death of some great chief, as of Tooitonga himself, &c. These feasts threaten a scarcity; to prevent which, a *ta'boo* or prohibition is put upon several kinds of food, that they may not be eaten for a certain length of time, at the termination of which they perform the following ceremony, which takes off the *taboo*: a famine or war may also occasion a necessity for this *ta'boo* to be imposed.

FUCCALAHI, i. e. to make all at large or free again; or to take off a restriction. As the mode of performing this ceremony has already been described, (see Vol. I. p. 120.) and the particular objects of it mentioned, (p. 113, same vol.) nothing farther need now be said upon the subject, except that it is generally concluded with a cava party.

CAVA FUCCA EGI: this consists in a cava

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766 cred ground in which he was buried should re-
765 main polluted.

[514] For one month, from the day of burial, greater or less quantities of provisions are
766 brought every day, and shared out to the peo-
765 ple. On the first day a prodigious quantity is
261 supplied; but on every succeeding day a less quantity, gradually decreasing till the last, when, comparatively, a very small portion is
[784] brought. The expenditure, and we may say waste of provisions, is, however, so great, as to require a *táboo* to be laid on certain kinds of provisions, (see Vol. I. p. 112), which lasts about eight or ten months; and at the end of that time the ceremony of *fuccalahi* is performed to remove it.

784 TA'BOO.—This word has various shades of signification: it means sacred or consecrated to a god, having the same signification as *fucca égi:* it means prohibited or forbidden, and is applied not only to the thing prohibited, but to the prohibition itself, and frequently (when it is in sacred matters), to the person who breaks
784 the prohibition. Thus if a piece of ground or
778 a house be consecrated to a god, by express declaration, or the burial of a great chief, it is said to be *táboo*; the like if a canoe be consecrated, which is frequently done, that it may be more safe in long voyages, &c. As it is

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another but none of them enduring long. The same expression is also used, for example, for the rattling of the lid on a pot of boiling water. 539 821 183

301. Kai tae tala: Eating without telling.

Apparently this indicates primarily one who quietly takes food and eats it without inviting anyone to share it with him, or perhaps one who takes and eats food that belongs to another without saying anything to the owner. The expression is used now only of a wind that comes up suddenly without warning, although in this sense, of course, it is capable of a wide range of metaphorical employment. 539 264 422 [821]

302. Lau matangi fai i fale: Reckoning wind done in house.

Statements made by those who have not taken the measures necessary to ensure that their opinion is worth hearing. 539 821 [571]

303. Tokelau i fale: North in house.

Used of one who sitting inside a house talks about the wind, that it is north or south, without going outside to see how it actually is. So used of the man who freely gives his opinion about matters whose true state he has not the means to ascertain. [829]

304. Toka mono agai: Prepared with (for ?) its opposite.

A wind which blows in one direction but is certain to go around to another quarter, as do the strong gales that sometimes blow in Tonga during the summer months. Generally of things and circumstances that are bound to shift and be of a character opposite to that which they were at first. [132] [183]

305. Hala pe Vai ka ko Vai: The rain has missed but there will be rain. 539 821 805

Vai-mua (Earlier rain, or water) and *Vai-mui* (Later rain, or water) are the names of two moons in the Tongan calendar, corresponding roughly to February and March. If the rain expected in the former of these two wet months fails to appear there is still the later wet month to look forward to. It is a counsel of courage, bidding us not lose heart immediately on the failure of one expected opportunity. [132]

306. Tanaki kai fai ki Vai: Collecting food for *Vai*, the rainy months, about February or January and March, when the native food supply is low. 539 261 183

This is an expression of careless indifference, almost of reproof, to deter one who desires to save food for another time. Why save? Let the lean months look after themselves. [132]

307. Ka ai ha ofa pea tali ki Uluenga: If there is any kindness (to do) then wait till Uluenga. 539 571 183

Uluenga is the name of one of the Tongan divisions of the year, about October or November, when the food supply is scanty. The idea, therefore, [805]

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539 103 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 484 505 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 787 **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed [779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 823 **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. [873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, 539 inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the 133 expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua 823 from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountain- 186 ous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is 184 much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 484 829 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is

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at a considerable distance from their own homes. It is moreover a high chiefly village; and therefore a likely place to obtain food. There is a double reference in this phrase; first, that one is so hungry that he is willing to go a long way to obtain food; second, that in going to Fuaamotu he is going to a good place to get it.

HAAPAI

[Haapai is the central portion of the Tongan group, lying almost midway between Tongatabu to the south and Vavau to the north. It is a widely scattered archipelago, consisting almost entirely of low coral islands.]

339. Afa kai fai ki Haa-Ngana: A great talk about food after the Haa-Ngana way.

Haa-Ngana, the tribe of Ngana, is found in three small islands in the Haapai group. What might be reckoned a great thing in these small islands is not necessarily of such dimensions as to appear worthy of special comment to the inhabitant of a larger place. Much ado about nothing.

340. E seea ae namu Nomuka: Nomuka mosquitoes will be driven away.

The island of Nomuka, one of the southernmost of the Haapai group, is deservedly famous for its mosquitoes. The expression is used for that which is very difficult. It is easier to keep the mosquitoes off oneself in Nomuka than to do so-and-so. (Compare Nos. 370, 358 and 133.)

341. Foa ulu efu: Foa dusty head.

This is an abusive epithet applied to the people of Foa in Haapai. It makes a Foa man angry and does not seem applicable to any peculiarity discoverable today in the people or their island, which is large and very fertile. A story is told which refers the origin of the expression to a combat between two chiefs of Foa. One hit the other on the head with his club and made a cloud of dust fly out. It is also said the yams in Foa have large heads with plenty of room for the dirt to lodge when they are dug up; but this strikes one as being rather the finding of fresh cases to which to apply the abuse than the explanation of its origin.

342. Hange ko Fakatoutoa: Like Fakatoutoa.

Fakatoutoa is a place in the sea near Nomuka, in the Haapai Group, where rough water is frequently encountered. Used proverbially of rough seas. (See No. 332.)

343. Hilinga mo Tolu koe motu tokanoa: It becomes Tolu, an island that lies right out of the way.

Tolu is a small group of islets lying at a considerable distance from any other portion of the Tonga Islands and is, moreover, rather inaccessible and out of the usual track of boats. The expression as it stands, is ellip-

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539 516 526 423 571 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 352 484 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 829 571 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's home.

This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 312 **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern which is filled only by the rain.

[177] [178] The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified, of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the [821] islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 261 515 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside cook-house.

One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 372 261 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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further recommendation of being openhanded. The dour chief of Majilamea was rejected with the scornful inquiry as to when there was ever a man worth while from Majilamea. 539 584

Another rendering of this phrase, seemingly the more widely used, and probably the better, is *Kai pe tae a Majilamea* [Eat offal (excrement), Majilamea.] A delicate invitation of this sort is a common form of Tongan billingsgate. The expression has a wide application and may be compared in general with the Biblical question, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" 539 578 261

454. Fasakiki kae oho: Trembling but making a rush. 539 584

This indicates the rushing of a man into the danger which he at first feared. An instance given of its application does not indicate very stern perils, being nothing more alarming than the fair charmer before whom a man finds himself embarrassed and fearful, but whom at last he wins for his own.

455. Hoa a kehe: Mating of different (sorts). 539 593

Those who are married, or in some other way united, but are not well matched.

456. Manako Sea manako Sau: Baker translates this phrase: "To be in love with two opposite parties or things." 539 584

This, or some kindred meaning, seems undoubtedly to express the sense of the phrase, but it is difficult to get today a reliable explanation of the literal meaning. *Sea* and *sau* are unknown as common nouns and if they are used as names their occurrence must be very infrequent. However, Dr. Krämer (Samoa-Inseln, I Band, pp. 121 ff. and 176) quotes both *Sea* (in composition) and *Sau* as Samoan names for women. The Tongan account of the proverb is that *Sea* and *Sau* were two beautiful women (probably Samoans), both beloved by a handsome man (Tuitonga in one account) who, being unable to make up his mind between their rival charms, in the end got neither. One story makes a happier ending by asserting that he got both.

457. Mata lupe kehea: Seeing other dove. 539 337

The word dove is used here of a sweetheart and seems to be a very old term of endearment applied by a man to his mistress. This phrase means a man who has become enamored of a new charmer and forgotten his old love.

458. Poloji poloji pea koji kovi: Long-haired, long-haired, and cut evilly. 539 836

The wearing of two long locks of hair at the back of a girl's head was a sign of virginity, these locks being cut at marriage. Virginity was highly prized in a bride and was marked by special features in the marriage ceremony. The expression indicates a girl who has lost the right to wear the maiden locks before being duly married. 302 585

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad. 892

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [285] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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group, certainly in many instances, and probably in all, through association with the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression indicates one who has no right to the privilege of speaking in the royal *malae*, or meeting ground. The expression is used, as would be a similar phrase in English, as a rebuke to one who speaks where it would be more seemly for him to keep silent.

543. Laujii faka-Hihifo: Narrow in the western way.

Hihifo, meaning literally the point where the sun sets, is the general name given to the western districts of the various islands. Here the district indicated is the western part of Tongatabu, which is narrow, and whose circumscribed area one might naturally expect to find reflected in a paucity of provisions. It is the seat of the great Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship, and its people by a wise use of their resources never fail to set forth a ceremony or banquet with true chiefly munificence. The phrase is used of those who by their prudence overcome the niggardliness of nature.

544. Nonofo mo Tukuaho kae fie kai gako: Living with Tukuaho yet in want of rich food (literally fat).

This is a very unlikely contingency, for Tukuaho, one of the Tui Kanokupolu who reigned at the close of the 18th century, was a great chief and those in close contact with him would be sure to be well supplied with the best food that the country could furnish. See No. 535 for a similar expression of the belief that the vicinity of the great chiefs was the place to find the best provisions that the country afforded.

545. Oua e tangi ke tatau Don't desire to be equal
Naa ita a Taufaahau: Lest Taufaahau be angry.

Evidently of recent origin, as the use of the name Taufaahau began with the famous George Tupou I. whose name it was. The sense is, smaller folk should not try to make themselves the equals of such a mighty chief.

THE TUI TONGA

[The Tui Tonga and his house were the pinnacles of Tongan nobility, claiming descent from the gods. The sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and had rank superior even to the Tui Tonga himself. Since a Female Tui Tonga who was sister of the reigning Tui Tonga did not lose her rank if her brother pre-deceased her, but held it till her own death, the Female Tui Tonga was either aunt or sister to the contemporary Tui Tonga. The first child of the Female Tui Tonga by one of two special chiefs was the topmost pinnacle of Tongan nobility, particularly if a daughter. This first born child was called the Tamaha. Should a son be born to the Female Tui Tonga and afterwards a daughter it would seem that the daughter was the Tamaha. There appears however to be a little laxity in the use of this title. The actual power of the Tui Tonga has evidently been declining for centuries, and passing more and

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of whom are considered sacred, they must sit down cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their hands.

During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaagee, or principal servants of the chief, are busily employed in an out house built for the purpose, in baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava; and during their meal talk with each other, as they please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava, they always drink it in companies in this festive manner; in which they often spend the two or three first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure, however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have every thing belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistance, or to resort to the chief, and beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions for him by a limited time; with which he lays up a store for himself, and his wives and household; and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the Kava from break of day to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants are completely tired of waiting on them. They then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, in which they generally indulge two or three times a day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion: they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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men. But this large quantity of fishes was of no private emolument to me; for at Tonga, though there is not a community of goods, yet it is the custom, where a person has much, for numbers to flock to him; and it would be looked upon as contrary to nature to refuse them. If I was sitting at my door, or at the entrance of my abbee with my attendants, and eating, and a stranger passed, he would come and sit himself down by me, without ceremony, and expect a meal with me. In a scarce season, numbers resorted to me for my yams; and it would have been a transgression of the laws of hospitality to have refused them, as long as they lasted. We had an abundance of customers for our fish, therefore, in a short time. Yet I had sufficient left to send large presents to different chiefs, and to take an ample quantity home.

I continued my fishing, in this manner, as long as my fringed rope and nets of cocoa-fibres lasted; but the weather, after a time, rotted them, and as my abbee now produced me an abundant variety of good and pleasant food, I never made another Ooloa.

My intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and I generally made one of their party, both on business and recreation.

The chief, near whom I lived, had a brother at Arbai, a cluster of islands at no great distance, composed of Anamooka and other islands; and as

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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there were no superabundant fruits to plunder. The number of us was too great for the productions of the island.

I had reserved, however, a field of plantains for myself, and having my hut placed in the middle, that I might the more effectually guard them, I preserved them till they were nearly ripe. But so pressing were the calls of hunger, that I was subject to several depredations, notwithstanding my character as "moolee," or stranger; and one morning, upon opening my hut-door, I perceived that had I been awakened to defend my plantation from some thieves who had robbed it during the night, I should have been murdered. The traces of human feet and spears on each side the hut, plainly showed that two men had taken their station there with spears ready couched to pierce me as soon as I should come out.

The scarcity of provisions was at length so great, that we were obliged to eat the roots of the plantain tree for our subsistence, and to drink the milk of the cocoa-nut, when very unripe. Hunger provoked me to drink such a quantity, that I was for a time swelled as though I had the dropsy. When pining with hunger, I endeavoured to refresh myself with sleep. But upon awaking, I was scarcely able to rise, from weakness. Many were in this deplorable state, and numbers died through want. At length I repaired to Loogolala, as well as others, for food.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

quarter in the thickest part. On only two occasions have we seen it swimming at sea. When first observed, it was carrying the head quite erect, about four inches above the surface; but, instantly it saw our boat, it drew its head under water, and disappeared. The natives seem to have a great reverence for, or else a great aversion to, the creature, notwithstanding its prettiness. But this may arise, in part, from its having been held sacred, and being even worshipped in former days.

It would be hard to determine what were the indigenous animals of the Tonga Islands. We have heard an intelligent native playfully say, that, in olden times, the only representatives of the animal and feathered tribes, were the *kuma*, or field-mouse, and the *jikota*, a species of kingfisher. Captain Cook found hogs, and dogs, and probably, cats, upon the islands; but it is just possible that these were first left by the Dutch navigator Tasman, nearly a century before. Of his visit, the people have no traditionary knowledge whatsoever. Whether the Tonguese obtained animals from him or not, there is no doubt that the breed of hogs now extant is much superior to that which the people possessed in bygone days. Considerable attention is paid to rearing them. Many, it is true, are allowed to run wild in the bush; but a very large number are reared in pig-styes, or are regularly tended and fed by their owners.

The number of pigs consumed at the great native feasts, of various kinds, is something enormous. Hundreds, and even thousands, have been known to be slaughtered and cooked entire, on these occasions, with a wasteful extravagance, against which the Missionaries have hitherto lifted

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

up their protest in vain. By the custom of the country, in this matter, the bulk of the people have been kept poor, through an indisposition on their part to breed and rear animals that might, at any moment, be demanded from them by the chiefs, as a contribution to a domestic, political, or even religious festival.

Horses and cattle were re-introduced by the Missionaries, a few years since, and have thriven well. They were first left by Captain Cook, but became extinct during the long series of wars which succeeded the period of his visit. Sheep also have been added, in late years, to the stock of fine goats that had been introduced at an earlier date. The number, however, of these various animals never can become anything very great. The islands are too small to permit of extensive districts being devoted to sheep-runs or pasturage for cattle. Sufficient, however, may be raised for all the purposes of home consumption, and for the replenishing of ships' stores, even should the population become much more numerous than it now is.

The common domestic fowl, the *moa* of Polynesia, is exceedingly abundant, both in the *abis* of the people, and in all parts of the bush. They are somewhat smaller than the English species, but are quite equal in flavour. The *bato*, or Muscovy duck, is also becoming plentiful; while the possession of fine large broods of turkeys is not now restricted to the limits of the Mission families, by whom they were introduced. Geese and English ducks have been tried; but they do not appear to thrive. Perhaps this is owing to the want of sufficient water-ponds.

There is no great variety in the other members

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

permanent settlement. The same is true for some of the smaller Ha'apai islands: they have been farmed from nearby islands, but have never supported permanent populations. In Vava'u, the uninhabited islands are often small, steep and rocky, while the small islands off Tongatapu which were once inhabited are today the preserves of sojourning fishermen. Of more interest is the large island of 'Eua (34 square miles), the reason for the small population of which has long been an enigma. The difficult passage to Tongatapu is said by Tongans to be the main reason for its low population. While this could deter intensive settlement a more likely factor, as Maude surmises, is the scarcity of seafoods. Maude, in seeking a rationale for adjacent areas of high and low density within the group, has suggested that densities are generally determined by a *balance* of both land and sea resources. Where sea resources are limited or access to them difficult, as in parts of eastern Ha'apai and Tongatapu, in the higher parts of 'Uta Vava'u, and in 'Eua, population densities are low; conversely, where the shores and reefs are highly productive, as in the smaller western islands of Ha'apai and the western tip of Tongatapu, densities are high. This, broadly, can be assumed to have influenced traditional settlement patterns, which only today are being modified as population increases and new influences, such as urbanism, take their effect.

Estimations of the size and distribution of population within the group prior to the first census (1921), of which there are no extant records, rely on what at best can be termed informed guesses, sometimes supported by mission returns and head counts. None of the censuses until 1956 can really be considered reliable. Of these earlier censuses McArthur states that fluctuations of the populations of individual islands "are such as to arouse considerable doubts of the accuracy of either the recording or summarising of the data."[11] Table 1 is presented with this warning heeded, but in the belief that several broad conclusions can be drawn from it.

This table shows an overall pattern of population decline and recovery common in the Pacific following contact with Europeans. Tupouniua has suggested three contact phases:[12]

1. *1643–1799:* A phase in which there is no record of—"large scale destruction through diseases, and wars were totally unknown. Presumably, therefore, there was a balanced and vigorous population with steady population growth."

2. *1799–1852:* "A phase of bewilderment and social disintegration marked by a sense of insecurity. There was much rivalry for power between chiefs that . . . ended in armed conflicts . . . (while) . . . several epidemics are reported to have occurred with heavy loss of life."

[11] McArthur (1967): 81.
[12] Tupouniua (1958): 17-18.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

not unlike thick Sago or jelly from the Ma'whaha root, which doubtless affords a great quantity of nourishment; but the most palatable dainty, at least to us, is the bak'd root of the Sugar cane & Jeejee[1] which is but seldom met with. A dish of Vegetable and another of fish or other animal food commonly satisfys them, but we have seen Poulaho have four besides his yams for dinner, as bak'd pork, the Crow of the hog dress'd differently, the Talo tops as greens boild or rather sodden in oil or fat, and a bak'd Cuttle fish.

They seldom eat in their houses, but in fine weather sit down under the shade of a large tree and have their meal brought in baskets of Cocoa leaves to them, which is commonly divided into as many portions as there are people and laid before them in plantane or other leaves, with a small reserve in case any one should wish to eat more than his first share. They have some hollow'd wooden dishes but are not so commonly us'd as the leaves. Their only knives & forks are a bit of Bamboo or their hands, but many of the principal people have each mouthfull (which ar[e] commonly very large) of fish or pork prepard and laid upon a piece of yam by a servant, so that they have only the trouble of putting it into their mouths. In general they are moderate eaters, but their method of feeding does not seem to agree with their personal cleanliness, as they make no scruple of eating their pork (which is seldom dress'd about the head & neck from placing it in a round oven) quite raw and bloody and very frequently fish just as they are caught, as well as all sorts of shell fish, some of which are reckon'd a great delicacy in that state especially a particular part of the large Cockle. They are also very fond of every thing that is fat, and to procure that will even dress their shark cut up into large pieces by putting a large piece of the liver between two pieces of the fish, which doubtless yields a very rank oil: but what is worse they will often eat the vermin from their own heads, and have been seen to lick up the matter squeez'd from a boil with their fingers. Their drink at meals is the juice or water of the Cocoa nut, a natural liquor so agreeable that all who taste must prefer it unless habituated to some pernicious artificial one. Nature seems in some measure to have supplied her scanty allowance of water to them from fitting their country to produce large numbers of these, and in great perfection; but it is not the only provision in this case, for they often scrape down the kernel of the nut and by mixing it with water make a fine milky liquor which renders even that naturally disagreeable article pleasing. When the meal is finish'd they always

[1] This reminds one of the New Zealand use of Ti, *Cordyline australis*, the brother of the 'Jeejee'.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 0U9 Tonga 0U9

Occasional throughout Tonga in thickets. India and China to Malaya, Formosa, Australia, and Polynesia. 137

Recorded as *D. nemorosa* Lam. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: *akahele.*

? **Dianella intermedia** Endlicher, Prodr. Fl. Norf., 28, 1833.

Short-stemmed, herbaceous plant. Leaves linear, grasslike, distichous, up to 50 cm. or more long and 1 cm. wide, finely parallel-nerved, clasping stem at base. Flowers whitish, small, in large, terminal, paniculate clusters.

Tongatapu: *Nelson;* in open bush on sand near shore northwest of Hofoa, Oct. 30, 1951, *Hürlimann 86.*

'Eua: on limestone rocks in open vegetation, border of cliff near center of eastern ridge, Nov. 9, 1951. *Hürlimann 212.*

Occasional. New Zealand, Norfolk Island, Fiji, Society Islands.

Tongan name: *afuafu.*

The taxonomy of this genus is complex and the identifications are tentative.

Genus **Cordyline** Commerson

Cordyline terminalis (Linnaeus) Kunth, Berlin Akad., Abh., 30, 1820.

Small tree with slender stem up to 3 m. or more tall. Leaves closely spirally clustered near end of stem, elliptic-lanceolate or oblong-lanceolate, acuminate, base acute, up to 60 cm. or more long and 15 cm. wide, smooth, entire, finely pinnately nerved, petiole deeply canaliculate, clasping stem. Flowers pink or red, small, numerous, in large, terminal, paniculate clusters; fruit fleshy, globose, yellow or reddish.

Tongatapu: *Moseley;* in coastal forest near Fatai, Oct. 30, 1951, *Hürlimann 55;* in thicket near sea, near Vaini, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15059;* in clearing between Fatai village and sea, Mar. 10, 1953, *Yuncker 15262.*

'Eua: *Lister;* in thicket along trail between Pangai village and Fuai, Mar. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15483.*

Kao: near the upper margin of slope forest, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15954.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Frequent throughout Tonga. Presumably of Malaysian origin; now widely distributed in Polynesia.

Tongan names: *si, si matale'a.*

The leaves are used to wrap fish and other foods, and the roots may be eaten in times of food scarcity. [251] [261] [824]

Genus **Asparagus** Linnaeus

Asparagus plumosus Baker, Linn. Soc. Bot., Jour. 14: 613, 1875.

Climbing, vinelike plant with sub-woody stems bearing small, recurved spines, branches forming a horizontal, flattened, fanlike frond. Cladophylls numerous, filiform, fascicled, mostly less than 1 cm. long. Flowers small, white, in few-flowered clusters; berry black.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 U9 Tonga OU9

Frequent throughout Tonga[1]. A native of the tropics of the Eastern Hemisphere extending to Polynesia. 137

D. sativa L. in Hemsley's and Burkill's lists.

Tongan name: *hoi.*

The tubers are said to be poisonous unless properly cooked and are not used as food. [262] [824]

Dioscorea esculenta (Loureiro) Burkill, Gard. Bull. Straits Settlem. 1: 396, 1917.

Strong, high-climbing, more or less prickly-armed, subwoody, pubescent, twining vine with large, edible root tubers. Leaves alternate, ovate-cordate to suborbicular or reniform, attenuately acuminate, basal sinus broad, obtuse, up to 15 cm. or more long, woolly-pubescent. Flowers green, 4-5 mm. in diameter, in slender, axillary spikes up to 50 cm. long.

Introduced and cultivated for its edible tubers. From India to the Philippines and Polynesia. [262] [824]

Dioscorea pentaphylla Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 1032, 1753.

Strong, twining, pubescent, somewhat prickly, herbaceous vine with more or less angular stems. Leaves alternate, palmately 3- to 5- to 7-foliate, leaflets elliptic-lanceolate, attenuately acuminate, entire, up to 15 cm. or more long, with numerous, small, oblong, translucent lines, petiolules up to 1 cm. long. Flowers yellowish white, slightly fragrant, in axillary panicles longer than leaves.

Vava'u: in thicket at summit of Talau, west of Neiafu, May 24, 1953, *Yuncker 16157.*

Niuafo'ou: on wall of great crater above Futu, Jan. 7, 1952, *Hürlimann 659.*

Occasional in thickets. From India to the Philippines and Polynesia.

Tongan name: *lena.*

The tuber is edible but of poor quality and is eaten only in times of food shortage. [261] [824]

Family IRIDACEAE

Genus **Belamcanda** Adanson

Belamcanda chinensis (Linnaeus) de Candolle, in Redouté, Liliacées 3, pl. 121, 1802.

Short-stemmed herb. Leaves somewhat tufted, up to 50 cm. or more long and 4 cm. wide, two-ranked, ascending, narrowly lanceolate, acuminate, parallel-nerved, the nerves obvious. Flowers short-lived, opening one at a time, about 5 cm. wide, yellow outside, reddish-yellow with red spots within, in a large, many-flowered, di- or trichotomously branched terminal inflorescence; fruit about 2-3 cm. long, seeds globose, black, glossy.

Tongatapu: margin of cemetery near sea below Ha'akame village, Mar. 12, 1953, *Yuncker 15278.*

[1] /Dioscorea bulbifera Linnaeus -- Analyst/

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Niuatoputapu: on edge of mountain ridge above Vaipoa, Dec. 5, 1951, *Hürlimann 354.*

Frequent in thickets throughout Tonga. Southeastern Asia and Malaya to Polynesia. Now widely grown as an ornamental and as a forage crop.

Tongan names: *aka, akataha, fue'aepuaka.*

This plant is said to be especially relished by swine. Parts of it are used in medicines, and the roots may be eaten in times of food scarcity.

Genus **Canavalia** de Candolle

Canavalia ensiformis (Linnaeus) de Candolle, in DC. Prodr. 2: 404, 1825.

Subglabrous, subwoody vine. Leaves alternate, trifoliate, leaflets ovate or oblong-ovate, acuminate, base rounded, obtuse, up to 15 cm. long and 6 cm. wide. Flowers pink, subsessile, reflexed, in long, axillary, spikelike racemose clusters; pod about 15 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, flat.

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

A tropical American species now widespread in warm countries.

Canavalia maritima (Aublet) Thouars, in Jour. Bot. Desv. 1: 80, 1813.

Rather coarse, herbaceous vine. Leaves alternate, trifoliate, leaflets rather thick, suborbicular, subovate or subobovate, obtuse, base rounded, obtuse to acute, up to 12 cm. or more long and nearly as wide, pubescent, hairs appressed. Flowers about 2 cm. long, short-pedicellate, in long-pedunculate axillary racemes, corolla pink; pods up to 10 cm. long, broadly linear, seeds brown.

'Eua: *Lister.*

Lifuka: in thicket along road to north of Pangai village, Apr. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15714.*

Kao: in thicket, border of old plantation, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15958.*

Occasional throughout Tonga. A tropical American species now widely disseminated in tropical countries.

Probably the *C. obtusifolia* (Lam.) DC. of Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *lautolu'uta.*

Canavalia microcarpa (de Candolle) Piper, Biol. Soc. Washington, Proc. 30: 177, 1917.

Rather coarse, herbaceous vine. Leaves alternate, leaflets ovate, acuminate, base rounded, obtuse, up to 15 cm. long and 8-10 cm. wide. Flowers purplish or pinkish, up to 3 or 4 cm. long, short-pedicellate, few, on rather long, axillary peduncles; pods thick, three-angled on one edge, up to 12 cm. long and about 5 cm. wide, pointed, seeds ovoid, flattened, brown.

Tongatapu: *U.S. Expl. Exped.*

Southeastern Asia and Malaya to Polynesia.

C. ensiformis (L.) DC. var. *turgida* Hemsl. in Hemsley's list [?].

1 /Pueraria lobata -- Analyst/

241 Corn or koane (Zea mays) was planted alone on about
243 one-half acre (one-fifth hectare) of one allotment as a commercial crop. In the remaining 9 cases, it was intercropped with taro or giant taro, planted around the borders of yam patches, or in small mixed vegetable gardens.

241 Green onions or onioni Tonga (Allium ascalonicum) are
244 one of the most important herbs in Tongan cooking. On 3 of
[263] the 4 sample allotments where green onions were present, they were planted in well-ordered rows or homogeneous patches; in only one case were they planted amongst other subsistence crops.

241 Coffee or kofi (Coffea arabica) was found planted in
245 the shade of small groves of trees on 2 allotments and under scattered trees on another.

241 Lemon grass or moengālō (Cymbopogon citratus), the
249 leaves of which are used to brew tea, is generally found on town allotments, but was also cultivated in a small patch near a dwelling on 1 bush allotment and planted along a path through another allotment.

137 Teve (Amorphophallus campanulatus), an aroid, formerly
241 an important subsistence crop in certain areas of the Pacific (Massal and Barrau, 1956: 6), was found on only 2
[26] of the sample allotments. In both cases, it was uncultivated and, according to informants, eaten only in times of famine.

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wards programme planning related to village needs of each age group as well as simple methods of club organisation. Group discussion on the problems of village life and the opportunities for their solution through *Langa Fonua* produced the request that courses of instruction be held for sectional leaders from the different districts in subjects related to homecraft and health, particularly sewing and cooking, so that each village had its own trained local instructor who could take her part in enriching the programme of the branch meeting.

The afternoon classes consisted of sewing (patchwork and patterns) and cooking, including a brief introduction to food values and the simple home cooking of basic foods as well as invalid and weaning diets. It is for concentrated courses on these subjects that the request came from the delegates and was forwarded to the Central Committee. Lively songs opened and riotous games closed the daily sessions.

The leaders went away with a few new ideas for both the educational and recreational side of their village programme, but primarily with some realisation of what might be achieved in community education through *Langa Fonua*, especially if there were sufficient trained voluntary project leaders.

Variety Of Visual Aids

Visual aids on such topics as The Village Survey, The Woman in the Home, Building a Programme, Dangers

[P. 27-C] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28-B]

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264 412 the bamboo knife customary in former times. pieces of tuber, fish or meat and put them in their mouths; in the case of tubers, some also knead individual bites into balls. By far 264 415 177 the majority of natives today use European pottery and tin plates instead of the banana and breadfruit leaves used as plates in ancient Tonga. It is only for gala meals that food is still generally served on banana leaves which are placed on plaited coconut-palm leaves or even on pieces of corrugated sheet metal. While kava is drunk only 415 276 178 out of coconut mugs, cups and ordinary mugs are today present in all households for the rest of the beverages; the ancient Tonga banana-leaf mugs (513)

513. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 96/97; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197.

264 178 have long since fallen into oblivion. Meals are eaten in the cook hut, in the open, on the verandas of European houses and sometimes (especially gala meals) in living rooms; eating inside the dwelling means a break with ancient custom, but it has by no means become a general habit.

264 562 Women were never excluded from common meals in Tonga. (514)

514. Even Cook was struck by this (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 289.

264 565 The once strictly observed social stratification among the people, however, made a sharp distinction, especially at meals, between members of the individual classes or the holders of various titles. (515)

515. See also J. Cook, ibid.

[178] Though the differences /198/ are today less glaring in public, one will scarcely see a person of higher rank dining with one of lower rank.

264 574 178 261 The numerous ancient Tongan festivals belong to the past as a

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264 524 178 261 result of the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago, and with them have disappeared the large gala meals which, in old times, could cause the danger of food shortage and hardship. (516)

516. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 214/215.

262 177 178 Seen as a whole, strong European influences are to be noted in the food sector, (517)

517. European foods even play a special role in festive customs.

which have led to a coexistence and merging of old and new and also to a loss of old traditions. Yet the main foundation of the ancient Tongan system of nutrition has been preserved: Though some imported foods have gained great importance, they have not become the chief foods, but are merely additions to the ancient Tongan fare. The traditional basic foods have not been replaced. Rather, the Tongans are largely meeting their own food needs through cultivation (especially of old indigenous plants), fishing (mostly with traditional methods) and domestic animal raising (with predominantly ancient Tongan domestic animals), and if today the islands should fall back into isolation, the entire population could go on living without particular readjustment and without hardship, solely from the products of their own land. (518)

(146) 518. Tongan everyday food is astonishingly poor in proteins and vitamins, according to European ideas. Yet the natives have been nourishing themselves in this way for many centuries, and are on the whole tall, well built and mostly plump figures.

Luxuries

276 261 262 272 273 If, by the term "luxury," we mean everything that is eaten and drunk merely because it is pleasant, regardless of its nutritional value, we must mention under this heading for Tonga kava, tobacco,

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273 chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic beverages.

Of all these luxuries, kava alono belongs to ancient Tonga.
276 Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was
514 already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 144 ff.

[198] It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

276 /199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with
[199] the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke. The
276 younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported
177 English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey
439 about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

276 Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the
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276 887 178 tobacco that has for some times been cultivated on many of the native plantations in Tonga, and from this, together with dried pieces of banana leaves (hulu ifi tapaka), they smoke the "suluka," the size of which is between a cigarette and a cigar.

They prefer to cut banana leaves (usually of the hopa variety) early in the morning when they are fresh with dew; if the leaves are too dry that are moistened for a moment with fresh water. After the leaves have been pressed (for example, under a bed) and dried, they are cut in rectangular pieces. On each of these is placed a small quantity of tobacco, dried and cut fine, and the whole is rolled into a conical shape. The leaf is held in this position while the tip of the "suluka" is folded over and then bitten off just before it is smoked.

The natives usually take only a few puffs of the "suluka"; it often goes out, whereupon they stick it behind one ear and, after some time, often hours later, they relight it and continue smoking. The tobacco is strong. Old Tongans who are used to this weed, generally refuse the tobacco and cigarettes of whites.

276 [372] The natives usually light their cigarettes as well as the "suluka" with glowing coconut husks with which they traditionally keep the fire going and which they like to take along when they go to their plantations.

[177] Very few Tongans smoke European pipes.

Tobacco chewing is not very widespread; apparently only the indigenous tobacco is chewed.

261 177 /200/ Some boys, girls, men and women today are fond of chewing gum, which probably became known in the Archipelago through the American troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war.

262 432 Many natives of both sexes and various ages are fond of sucking